624 Residential units created for administrative purposes seldom had a single focus of allegiance. In the case of Sivepe, the officials appointed by the government in separate villages were thrown together in one village and were later replaced by the local government councillor.

In the mixed post-eruption settlements too, Keesing (1951:9-11) noted conflicting authority between men of different descent groups. Leadership had to be bureaucratically imposed and 'there were no signs of a self-motivated [political] superstructure taking form other than the strengthening of scattered clan ties'.

613 554 Varying definitions have been given of corporate descent groups whose representatives might be said to have legitimate control of land among the mountain Orokaiva: Norton (1962:2-7) describes the embo dombo as a man 'who by virtue of being the senior member of a lineage and by having a superior knowledge of land matters, is regarded as the chief authority in the lineage', and says that the composition of the land controlling group varies from 1 or a number of lineages within the clan to the entire clan. [614] There are said to be as many embo/dombo in a landholding group as there are lineages yet he later maintains that

> in each 'clan' a male member, by virtue of his age, his seniority in a descent group and knowledge of the land, has a recognised authority over any matters affecting the activities of the clan of which he is a member and particularly on land affairs. There may be one such man in a 'clan' or a number and he is known as the Embo Dombo.

Norton suggests that every male member of the controlling group is an enda nano (master of the land), and that the term has sometimes been incorrectly identified with a 'chief land holder'.

Belshaw (1951:2-3) states that the 'minor lineage', constituting all or part of a 'hamlet', shares land and works it together. But particular members 'through their slightly different relationship connections sometimes have senior claims to different areas of land' and a member is enda nano only insofar as the group is currently cultivating the land to which he has senior claim.

624 614 Plant (1951: Appendix 2) diverges more from Norton's definition of enda nano saying that there is one man with this title who is guardian and administrator of land, which is vested in the clan. Although these powers in land matters are more continuous and wider in scope than Belshaw maintains, Plant explicitly distinguishes them from the status of embo (peni) dombo (clan headman). He narrows them further to residual rights to make decisions, in council with clan members, on important matters concerning any of the areas which sections (or segments) of the clan in different

624 villages and individual members of these groups have come to
614 regard as their own, since 'usage tacitly becomes ownership'.[1]

Norton's use of enda mano seems the most accurate whereas we would accept as valid for groups of any order Plant's separation of the status of embo dombo from that of a 'chief land controller' (or of any man with an authoritative local and historical knowledge of land). But we found no evidence to indicate that any person at Sivepe exercises rights to the land associated with either of the 3 clan branches, such as the landrights Plant and Belshaw attribute to the enda mano or Norton attributes to the embo dombo.

425 Among our recorded cases of land falling without direct lineal
428 heirs, none seems to show that a person such as an embo dombo acquires it by exercising reversionary rights on behalf of the wider agnatic group.

Just as the function of a descent group of given dimension or local organisation is specific to a time and place, the way control over land has devolved among its constituent units closely defines the role of the member (or members) with most influence in issues concerning land, whatever powers he happens to exercise in other connections. The nominal leader of the dispersed branch of Jegase clan is the local government councillor: an assertive middle-aged man, he is senior by any reckoning to other active members of Bebehupa lineage. He has more land than any other Jegase man in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless the scope of his authority in land matters affecting other Jegase men is severely restricted in that the interdependent Arehu and Berekipa lineages have been completely independent of others in the control of their land for the past 50 years.

613 He retains prestige and influence in many matters of concern to
624 his own lineage. He can claim prominence among more close agnates
554 than a leading man of any other lineage in our sample, even though
614 the Bebehupa have now dispersed from Binduta to Garombi, Mahihita, Kakita, Awala and Sivepe. They now say it is their responsibility as embo bajari (protector or sometimes a co-parcener, especially one responsible for controlling holdings of other heirs) to look after particular parcels of lineage land near these villages.

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[1] Ibid., quoting Williams (1928:125), who is referring to 'sections' (alternatively 'branches' and 'families'). See Norton (1962:8): the tacit permission of the clan for individuals and their descendants to use a vaguely demarcated area is not a 'permanent or ultimate authority vested in the individual by the passage of time.... This in no way grants the man or his successors ownership rights in it' (ibid.:9).

613 Actually no power has been delegated by the leader of their
624 lineage. They are de facto custodians to the extent that circumstances had forced them to leave their original village and each selected a place to settle convenient to one of the areas where he could exercise individual rights to patrimonial or other land. They could at the same time protect the interests of other members with landholdings nearby. Although they refer to this trust as Bebehupa land, the reciprocal obligations seem to have followed on a mutual agreement reached by particular individuals.

It is however in this group that the councillor still expects to exert most influence in the discussion of general affairs. Within it he has a recognized standing as the largest landholder. On this account his opinion and knowledge of the locality are respected also by Jegase men of other lineages. Besides, they share many boundaries with other Bebehupa men and with members of Binduta and Awala villages among whom he could conveniently serve as a representative of their interests, having closer ties with these villages than they.

Otherwise his powers outside the affairs of the dispersed Jegase lineage are related to his position as councillor. He and another councillor were elected by Sivepo, Binduta and Awala villagers before he left Binduta and attached himself to Sivepo. In this capacity he receives no more support from other Jegase men in Sivepo than from the rest of the village. In 1963 a young man of another Jegase lineage there, with considerable support from voters within Sivepo, was a rival candidate for councillor for the 3 villages but was unsuccessful.

613 We have so far discussed only the powers of Bebehupa men,
614 either in their lineage or in the clan branch. The other Jegase
423 men enjoy rights of land control which are even more limited. The proprietary rights now held by each householder of the Berekipa-Arehu part of the clan branch were acquired by him independently of the others. Although there is frequent interchange of planting rights and consequent discussion among them as to the allocation of their resources none of the 4 could claim of right an equal voice in the control of the others' land. Again, each of the 2 Timumu lineages had settled independently in the neighbourhood of Sivepo by acquiring land from sources inaccessible to the other.

Associated with the weakness of central control over land of smaller groups on clan branch territory is the complete freedom each landholder has in granting usufructuary rights, provided due consideration is given to the anticipated physical needs of any joint heir (i.e., a sibling) or of any dependents for whom he is responsible. Each thus maintains relationships with other

622 growing in the village and these were consumed in a big feast 18 months or so after his death. There was much discussion, during these 18 months, as to who should follow Amos as leader; when I left, no decision had been made. He had himself designated the son of his elder brother who died during the eruption, but this man is a government driver, living in Popondetta. The people would prefer a local man for leader, but there is no suitable resident member of Amos' own hae. and in practise it seems that the question of leadership was debated not so much by the people at large but by the men of Amos' hae and Amos' wife's hae--the latter also coming from a prominent Horeopa family. Some leadership roles were meanwhile being carried on by an adoptive half-brother of Amos' wife. This man, a mission teacher who was head of the Hoborita school, and one of my best informants (Harold Heru), was in charge of the preparations for the coconut feast commemorating Amos' death, but he deferred to Amos' brother's son (Michael) on the day of the feast itself, when Michael came over from Popondetta.

622 While these problems over ceremonial leadership were being pondered, it was obvious that for most ordinary day-to-day decisions, 623 the most powerful man in the village was the councillor (Brian Aruha). Brian, though without any formal schooling, was employed by the government as an interpreter in the fifties. His employers formed a high opinion of him and it was probably not without their encouragement that he stood as a candidate for the Higaturu Council and was subsequently chosen by councillors as their chairman. In the view of senior government officials in Popondetta, Brian's knowledge of the history, activities and purposes of the council was unequalled in the district. He did not earn this reputation by craven conformity; indeed, I observed him at council meetings as a doughty opponent of the views of the government's advisory officer, even though he sometimes found himself arguing a strong case in a minority of one, for the other councillors tended to be rather deferential to the advisory officer.

622 Brian's power in Hoborita was much less absolute than Stephen's at Inonda because Hoborita has a far greater number of leading figures. 554 On the other hand, in the judging of disputes and in arranging the land conversion scheme described in earlier chapters, he wielded more power than any single person in Sivepe. In contrast with the Inonda and Sivepe leaders, Brian did not belong to the leading clan (Horeopa) nor to either of the other three well-represented clan groups. His real home was Sombou; at Amos' coconut feast he appeared as the leader of the dominant Sombou clan and in that capacity received gifts in recognition of services which this village had rendered after Amos' death--the traditional services expected from a neighbouring, closely-related village. Thus the power he wielded at Hoborita had the effect of spreading power beyond the dominant Horeopa clan, thus helping in the integration of the different clan groups.

622 Brian was assisted by a "committee" man who also came from one of the smaller clan groups and who had at one time been a medical
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622 orderly. This man, like the "committee" in Sivepe, was responsible
624 for the disciplinary aspects of local government--law and order, hygiene, organisation of working parties. The giving of such orders was not considered "fitting" for the councillor who kept aloof and worked through the "committee" as intermediary while still making the basic decisions. This dual control was convenient when, for instance, the councillor wanted old houses rebuilt and set along a straight line determined by him, while the people were not very enthusiastic. It never became clear just whose authority was treated lightly; no doubt the leaders are waiting for some excuse, such as a feast, for pressing the urgency of renovation. The councillor was, above all, the ideologist for the New Day.

794 Two other formal organisations in Hohorita pursued ends likewise
474 related to development. One of them was a church committee similar to the one at Sasembata; the second was a cooperative known as "Village Improvement" (in English) which was raising money for a purpose yet to be determined. It might be a trade store or a truck.
454 By the time I left, this committee had accumulated almost $1,000, and
452 the purpose then had again been changed: the intention became to invest the money under a government-sponsored scheme for village "Savings and Loan" societies which follow the principle of credit unions.

474 The composition of this committee was interesting: it did not
452 include the councillor, but consisted of the head teacher at Hohorita, and a priest and a public servant both resident in Popondetta. All three belonged to the Hvreopa clan but all three were, by residence and profession, somewhat remote from the village way of life. A number of the villagers who contributed expressed for this scheme the kind of romantic enthusiasm characteristic of many Papuan cooperative movements; it was seen as a means to raise the Papuan to the same level of power as the European. I was told that loans would be granted only for equipment of permanent value--sewing machines, house building materials, lawnmowers, coffee machines and a vague and ominous category described as "special things." There were 66 members.

521 It struck me that at Hohorita, in contrast to other places, individuals and groups were keen to engage me in protracted discussions on ideological and economic matters. It was evident that this was not a mere show and that discussions of the same sort were frequent also in my absence. It was at Hohorita that I first learned, and in the clearest terms, Orokaiva views on race relations, on the significance of the councils and cash cropping, on Africa, on the Americans. Participants in the discussion were often the educated minority which seemed to set the tone for social thought: the ex-mission teachers, ex-medical orderlies, ex-drivers, ex-shopkeepers, etc.--a total of 20 men who had to some extent mastered some Western skilled occupation, and who had chosen to return to their own village. Very often it was the chance of cash cropping that had brought them back home, for they knew that they could thus get financial security and a good life. Some